

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 148155

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: MOPS, PINT, CG

SUBJECT:FOLLOW-UP TO FIVE POWER DEMARCHE: LETTER FROM
PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU

REFERENCE: STATE 148132

1. FOLLOWING THE JOINT FIVE POWER DEMARCHE TO MOBOTU ON
REFORMS, YOU SHOULD DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM
PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT MOBUTU: QUOTE:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

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I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF JUNE 4 IN WHICH YOU NOTED
THE APPRECIATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE FOR THE
ASSISTANCE MY GOVERNMENT HAS EXTENDED OVER THE YEARS
AND PARTICULARLY DURING THE CURRENT CRISIS.

YOU RAISE THE PROBLEM OF SOVIET-CUBAN ACTIVITIES AND IN-
TENTIONS IN AFRICA, WHICH GREATLY CONCERN THE UNITED

STATES AND OTHER WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. I HAVE INITIATED A REVIEW OF THIS QUESTION AND WILL BE UNDERTAKING FURTHER APPROPRIATE ACTIONS WHEN THAT REVIEW IS COMPLETED.

BUT IN THE MEANTIME, I WANTED TO SHARE WITH YOU MY CONVICTION THAT THE PROBLEMS OF STABILITY IN CENTRAL AFRICA GO BEYOND THE ISSUES POSED BY SOVIET-CUBAN ACTIVITIES. AND ON THE BASIS OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD IN PARIS ON JUNE 5, I BELIEVE THAT MY ANALYSIS IS SHARED BY THE OTHER GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED THERE. INDEED, THE AMBASSADORS OF THE FIVE POWERS HAVE ALREADY SHARED WITH YOU THE MAIN CONCLUSIONS OF THE MEETING IN PARIS. LET ME BE MORE SPECIFIC.

BETWEEN FRIENDS, WE CAN SPEAK FRANKLY AND ADDRESS THE NEED FOR REFORMS IN ZAIRE. YOUR OWN PUBLIC DECLARATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT HAVE COME TO FORM THE FRAMEWORK OF NEEDED REFORMS IN THE POLITICAL AS WELL AS THE ECONOMIC FIELDS. BOTH YOU AND YOUR FOREIGN FRIENDS ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THESE REFORMS ARE URGENT.

TO SUMMARIZE MY UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT WE HAVE AGREED THUS FAR: ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, A NEW STABILIZATION AGREEMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND MUST BE SIGNED JUST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT CONTINUED BILATERAL ASSISTANCE WILL BE RELATED TO
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PERFORMANCE UNDER THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT. WE HAVE ALSO AGREED ON THE REFORMS YOU SET FORTH IN THE "MOBUTU PLAN," NOTABLY RELATING TO THE PLACEMENT OF FOREIGN EXPERTS IN KEY POSITIONS AT THE CENTRAL BANK, THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND IN CUSTOMS, AS WELL AS A CLEAR SHIFT IN DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES TOWARD AGRICULTURE. OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE PURSUING THESE IN BRUSSELS JUNE 13-14.

AS I REVIEW THE ELEMENTS OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM PACKAGE, I AM STRUCK BY THE COMMON CONCERN, NOT ONLY IN THE IMF-LED STABILIZATION EFFORT, BUT ALSO IN THE MOBUTU PLAN, OVER CONTROL AND REPATRIATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

AS YOU KNOW, BOTH THE STABILIZATION PLAN AND THE RECOVERY PLAN CANNOT BE PUT IN PLACE OVERNIGHT, YET THE URGENCY OF ECONOMIC REFORM IS SUCH THAT SOMETHING MUST BE DONE QUICKLY TO GIVE THE SIGNAL THAT THE PROCESS IS BEING IMPLEMENTED. THIS IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FROM THE AMERICAN VIEWPOINT WHERE OUR CONGRESS WILL WANT TO SEE EVIDENCE OF REFORM BEFORE WE CAN ENVISAGE FURTHER ASSISTANCE. IN THIS REGARD, YOU MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER

PUTTING INTO PLACE AN INTERIM SYSTEM FOR ASSURING THAT FOREIGN EXCHANGE RECEIPTS ARE REPATRIATED TO ZAIRE'S ESSENTIAL IMPORT REQUIREMENTS. YOU MAY HAVE OTHER IDEAS WHICH WOULD GET ACROSS THE KEY MESSAGE THAT ZAIRE'S OWN RESOURCES ARE BEING USED TO ADDRESS ESSENTIAL NEEDS.

BEYOND THE ECONOMIC REFORMS YOU HAVE LAID OUT, I SEE PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE IN THE POLITICAL REFORMS YOU ANNOUNCED IN YOUR JULY 1 SPEECH. AS I UNDERSTAND IT YOU ENVISAGED THE USE OF THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER MORE FULLY TO HANDLE THE DAY-TO-DAY BUSINESS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND TO REVITALIZE THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. I CONSIDER THIS CONCEPT OF DECENTRALIZATION CRITICAL NOT ONLY TO THE FUNCTIONING OF
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YOUR CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS, BUT ALSO TO THE EFFORT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WHICH I KNOW YOU ARE UNDERTAKING.

WHEN THE FIVE MET IN PARIS WE REVIEWED THE SHORT TERM REQUIREMENTS OF SECURITY IN SHABA AND, AS YOU KNOW, DISCUSSED THE NEEDS OF THE AFRICAN FORCE WHICH IS BEING PUT IN PLACE THERE. BUT WE ALL AGREED THAT THE AFRICAN FORCE IS ONLY A TEMPORARY SOLUTION AND THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF STABILITY IN THAT REGION HAD TO BE ADDRESSED:

-- THE REINTEGRATION OF SHABA INTO THE BODY POLITIC OF ZAIRE;

-- AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, WHICH WOULD LEAD ANGOLA TO COOPERATE IN PREVENTING THE FURTHER INCURSIONS OF KATANGANS INTO ZAIRE;

-- RESTRUCTURING THE FAZ INTO A LEANER, MORE DISCIPLINED FORCE WHICH WOULD HAVE THE TRUST AND SUPPORT OF THE POPULATION.

AGAIN, I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE IDEAS ON HOW THESE CRITICAL PROBLEMS CAN BE APPROACHED AND I WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE HEARING FROM YOU IN THIS REGARD. IN PARIS, OUR ANALYSIS POINTED TO SOME SPECIFIC ACTIONS, BUT WE WERE ALL AGREED THAT ONLY YOU COULD UNDERTAKE THE DRAMATIC GESTURES AND DETAILED DIPLOMACY THAT WILL BE NECESSARY.

LASTLY, MR. PRESIDENT, I MUST RAISE THE MOST DELICATE OF ISSUES. AS YOU KNOW, THE FURTHERANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

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THERE IS NO INTENTION ON OUR PART OF IMPOSING OUR VIEW ON OTHERS, BUT IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT A PATTERN OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN A GIVEN COUNTRY INEVITABLY HAS ITS REPERCUSSIONS ON THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP IN GENERAL AND ON ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN PARTICULAR.

I REALIZE FULL WELL THE ENORMOUS CHALLENGE THAT BRINGING UNITY TO THE NATION OF ZAIRE PRESENTS AND I KNOW THAT

AMERICAN NORMS CANNOT BE TRANSPLANTED. AT THE SAME TIME, YOU MUST KNOW THAT I CANNOT CONTINUE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE IF CORRUPT ELEMENTS CONTINUE TO BE ASSOCIATED IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT. OUR AMBASSADOR WILL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC ALLEGATIONS WITH YOU IF YOU DESIRE. ALSO, SUPPORT WILL BE MOST DIFFICULT IF THE PATTERN OF ARRESTS AND EXECUTIONS WE HAVE WITNESSED CONTINUES.

THIS LETTER IS BEING SENT IN A SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND FRANKNESS. WE WISH TO SEE ZAIRE DEVELOP INTO A STRONG AND UNIFIED NATION. WE FEEL THAT THIS CAN BE DONE ONLY IF THE HARD FACTS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION ARE FACED COURAGEOUSLY AND THOSE DECISIONS MADE WHICH WILL INSURE THE SUCCESS OF OUR COMMON EFFORT. SINCERELY, JIMMY CARTER. END QUOTE.

2. THIS LETTER SHOULD BE DELIVERED ONLY AFTER JOINT DEMARCHE OF FIVE AMBASSADORS.

3. INFO ADDRESSEES SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT COPIES OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER TO MOBUTU ARE DELIVERED IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE TO THE CHIEFS OF STATE OF THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS WITH A NOTE ENCOURAGING THEM TO FOLLOW UP WITH AN EQUALLY FIRM LINE, MAKING CLEAR THAT WE WILL DELIVER LETTER AFTER JOINT DEMARCHE.

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4. FRENCH TEXT FOLLOWS BY SEPTTEL. VANCE

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